February 1956

Fellowship

S. F. BODEN — *Builder*

30¢

Perspective on Race

by E. M. Poteat

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FELLOWSHIP

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The WORLD in FOCUS

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Brotherhood Month—1956

No fact is so important for our times as the absence of the quality we call brotherhood. The frightened, guilt-ridden whites of the Deep South, seeking to preserve the special privileges of a caste society and succeeding only in crystallizing the hatred of their victims, are stirring up a whirlwind of violence and vengeance by their denial of brotherhood. The foreign ministries of a dozen nations brew the ugly broth of nuclear war so skilfully that men may savor the brotherhood of death before they have a chance to taste the sweet kinship of life.

Hope remains, of course. No generation in all human history has seen the futility of violence and hatred so dramatically demonstrated as ours. Equality—the right of all men to a share of the world's good things—is rapidly becoming politically wise. Men face the difficult fact that they must share what they have if they hope to save what they need.

Yet even this is not nearly enough. Concessions granted reluctantly in order to avoid a worse fate do not assuage enmity or transform hatred into friendship. Nothing short of repentance, and the fruits of repentance, will do much good now. And the fruits of repentance are more than indignation over a murder a thousand miles away. They are action for brotherhood—now, and next door.

The function of the Fellowship is brotherhood. No other task is more important.

CURRENT PERSPECTIVES ON THE RACE PROBLE

by

Edwin McNeill Poteat

RACIAL DIFFERENCES, however deep or superficial they may be, and which H. G. Wells thirty years ago said hide more villainy and peril than any other observable fact in our modern world, have been sharply focused for us in the question of segregation.

No matter what part of the country one calls one's own, the question of racial segregation is in the public mind and the opinions and feelings of all who are concerned about it are both varied and volatile. The two recent decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court have made necessary the examination of situations some have hitherto been unwilling to confront and the readjustment of social practices that have existed so long that they have come to be regarded not only as sacrosanct but as morally invincible. It would appear, therefore, that an attempt to understand both the problem and its solutions must take us back to certain basic propositions on which we may all be thought to agree. Only as we agree on the bases upon which new social

practices are to be established shall we be able to fashion the superstructure of solution.

THE first base is what we call "the free democratic society." It is not difficult to carp about the important words in this phrase. To some "freedom" is limited so severely as to be little different from tyranny; to others the exercise and function of the democratic processes are under dangerous restraint; and to call the American conglomerate a "society" is, to some, mockery. Nevertheless, however inadequately the phrase describes us, we are in no mood to abandon or greatly modify it.

The basic presupposition of the free society is that in the sight of the law, every man has equal rights. Our legal structure is neither patrician nor plebeian and although social rank many times throws the scales of justice out of balance, when a man enters the place of judgment he can, at least, plead the right to equal justice even when he knows he will almost certainly not get it.

The history of the U.S. Supreme Court decisions from 1896 until 1954 shows that the imbalance created by a legalized slave system has, in terms of the concept of a free society, been redressed. When in their judgment segregated public schools were a violation of the principle at the heart of a "free democratic society" the Court had no alternative to the outlawing of the system of segregation that had operated, with more or less success, since the Civil War. It is not surprising that the decision created reactions endlessly varied; but it is difficult to see how those who are aware of the free democratic basis of equality of all before the law, can cavil at the basic justice of the Court's opinion.

THE second base may be called "the controlled ethical society." Again a caveat may properly be uttered against these words. We do not like the idea of control; authoritarianism of any sort is miasmic to the free air we breathe. And, it must be conceded, ethics sounds somewhat stuffy to some who feel themselves superior to moral limitations. Nevertheless we will not soon abandon the phrase for its opposite; we will not knowingly kick this support out from under our social structure.

The basic presupposition of this idea is that every man has equal dignity in the sight of God, for our ethical concepts are derived directly from the premise of a righteous God who has prescribed the norms by which we are to behave. It is not easy to see the dignity in the tramp that is obvious in the aristocrat, and a word of Jesus warns us against judging people by the externals of the tattered suit and the white tie and tails. And somehow, we have been taught to believe, God's eye searches beneath the integument of fabric and flesh and sees a dignity in the heart that is common to all.

This is something to which the civil law does little homage, and properly so. Much of our law is based on ethical principles that are part of our Judeo-Christian tradition. Yet while the court must respect the human dignity of the culprit, it would be regarded as sentimentality if man's status before God were introduced as evidence of innocence.

Nevertheless the problem of racial segregation cannot be disjoined from the concerns of ethics.

To be sure there are some who, in an excess of indignation, have said the Negro is not human and in this way thought to escape their ethical obligations in race relations. This, however, is so rare as to be almost nonexistent. Even the most resolute segregationist will admit an ethical responsibility in dealing with this new aspect of the race problem, though he will qualify his acceptance in terms of time (it is not yet feasible), place (the disproportion of the population makes change inadvisable), or circumstance (the social and cultural level of the minority group threatens the higher standards of the majority). We must not, in an excess of self-righteousness, denounce such judgments as perverse or amoral. At the same time, within the legal and moral structure of our society there is no place for discrimination against any member as though, with the approval of God, he is not to be allowed his freest efforts toward self-realization.

The probability is that those who feel this moral obligation most deeply will be less censorious of those who evade or dilute it. This will not be easy, particularly for the victims of discrimination who have their injury insulted by the superior moral attitudes of those who dispute the legality or the wisdom of the Supreme Court's ruling. And yet, within the context of our society, there is the compulsion "to be Christian," however lightly it may rest on us.

THE third base upon which the structure of settlement must rest will perhaps be disavowed by some who take seriously the other two. Unhappily we cannot assume that the democratically and ethically oriented individual will always accept the specifically Christian obligation. "To be Christian," as the phrase is used above, does not mean for many what it truly means. It is more nearly synonymous with decency, fair play, giving the other guy a break, or the good Anglo-Saxon idea of sportsmanship. This is what has broken down the barriers against the Negro's participation in sports, the arts, and to a much more limited degree in education and government and, as such, is all to the good.

The Christian, however, must not be satisfied with the mandate of traditional democratic and ethical principles, important though they are. His is a ministry of reconciliation. This familiar commission is stated in St. Paul's Second Letter to the friends in Corinth (5:18): "All this is from God, who through Christ reconciled us to himself and gave us the *ministry of reconciliation.*"

The point of this, of course, is not that the majority group alone has been given the ministry of reconciliation; it has been given to

Edwin McNeill Poteat

As this article was being prepared for publication its author, Dr. Edwin McNeill Poteat, minister of the Pullen Memorial Baptist Church in Raleigh, N. C., and long-time FOR member, suffered a coronary thrombosis to which he succumbed a short time later. Dr. Poteat formerly was president of Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, and before that pastor of the Euclid Avenue Baptist Church in Cleveland, Ohio. His death is a major loss to the Christian church and to the whole pacifist movement.

all who are within the Christian community. Nor do we have here a blueprint for the construction of a problemless society. What we do have is simply a motive. To those who accept the ministry of reconciliation no attitude or action will be taken in respect to the settlement of a problem that has not reconciliation as its aim.

This is a mood that government can only inferentially assume. So long as society is kept orderly and reasonably content its work is successful. The Supreme Court may, after a fashion, have been seeking to reconcile the law to newly changing racial attitudes, but the job of reconciling person to person, group to group, section to section is beyond the Court's jurisdiction.

Similarly sports: when Jackie Robinson broke down the color line in professional baseball, it was—whatever idealism Branch Rickey may have had—good business, and Negro stars have paid off handsomely ever since. Yet we do not think that the New York Giants are acting as ministers of reconciliation because Willie Mays is a top-flight star. Similarly the arts: when Marian Anderson was offered a starring role in one opera at the Met much was made of this "first." Her personal life has been a ministry of reconciliation as has that of Roland Hayes and others, but one doesn't make the Met if one hasn't an operatic voice. Similarly business: Negroes have been slowly graded up in the skilled industries but again the reason is less a matter of public relations than of production. The Church is the only institution in our society the primary business of which is reconciliation.

We are far from saying that those institutions of society that have been constructively dealing with the race problem are wholly free from disinterestedness; that they are unresponsive to the necessity and the advantage of being decent and "Christian." What we are saying is that the mandate under which they must operate is different from the Christian's commission. We assume that when the batting averages of Negro stars fall below .200, they'll be dropped from the active playing roster. But will they stay on as coaches or step into a manager's job? Or will they even be shipped back to the minor leagues?

Now to perform the ministry of reconciliation may not mean that the Christian must plead with some second-division club to take on a cast-off Negro star as manager; but it will mean that our society is so pervaded by the mood—undergirded legally by our constitution and ethically by our social mores—that men of all colors will seek to be reconciled with each other.

And what does that mean? Some of the professional reconcilers we have seen make us aware that taking the ministry of reconciliation seriously has made a nuisance out of them. Does that mean there are to be none others besides—say Schweitzer—who give themselves wholly to this dedicated responsibility? By no means. If we take what St. Paul was talking about as the clue to what we are saying, it means that every Christian, in every relation into which he is set, is to act in such a way that everything he does is reconciling.

We are baffled by the immensity of the problem that confronts us. The law will not give us a final solution nor will our ethical presuppositions lessen the tension very much, very soon. It will only find

its solution when all those committed to the Christian obligation, no matter what their skin or their status, determine that in those areas, be they large or small, where they can determine the mood of personal contact, shall see to it that the mood they create is reconciling.

This is what some have called building bridges over the gulfs that separate us. It does not call on us for giant construction jobs that span the great expanse of sparkling waters. It will be more often, perhaps, a hand extended to help another toward us over a ditch that seems very small as we look back at it.

The job is immense, but then, our resources are incalculably great. We wonder, indeed, whether there is any human heart anywhere that does not have enough of the power of reconciliation to lift "one of these least" across a divide, be it ever so narrow or so wide.

Restless

I shall be restless in this world
As long as I can see
How hate and fear and prejudice
Deny man's liberty.

I shall be lonely in this world
Until at last I stand
Unfettered by divisive creed
And clasp my brother's hand.

I shall be heartsick in this world
As long as war's grim hand
Destroys our choicest manhood
Destroys our very land.

No panacea I ask of Thee
No easy peace of soul
But courage to keep fighting
And faith to see things whole.

RACHEL SHEPARD HIGGINS

DATELINE:

Orangeburg, S. C.

ONE OF THE MORE REVEALING oversights of an American press usually devoted to the diligent search for the melodramatic has been the almost universal failure to report the things that have been going on in Orangeburg, South Carolina.

The Orangeburg "story" has everything: deep conflict, continuing tension, the imminent danger of violence, men deeply torn between their loyalties to their group and to their principles. That, to the time of this writing, only a meagre segment of the general press and some Negro newspapers have dealt effectively with Orangeburg demonstrates how far-flung is the cleavage over race now tearing the South.

Orangeburg is a town of some 16,000 population, half of them Negroes. It is the seat of two Negro colleges: Claflin, a Methodist school with about 600 students; and the Orangeburg State College, with 1,500. With this intellectual base, it is not surprising that the Orangeburg Negro community became one of the first in the Deep South to pick up the challenge thrown down by the Supreme Court's ruling on segregation in the schools. Last July 31, the Orangeburg branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) presented to the school board a petition asking the board to proceed with integration of the local schools, and signed by 57 Negro parents.

Such a petition is the first step necessary to bring a recalcitrant school board to court. The white community reacted swiftly with the organization of a "Citizens' Council," the new device operating throughout the South to bring pressure, though "without the use of violence," against all attempts to break down segregation.

The pattern of pressure developed rapidly. It was primarily economic, though some threats of violence and arson were conveyed

anonymously by telephone to NAACP leaders. Suppliers and distributors suddenly stopped deliveries to stores operated by signers of the petition. Home deliveries of bread and milk ceased. Mortgage and loan foreclosures were threatened; men and women were fired from their jobs. Twenty-nine of the 57 signers withdrew their names from the petition.

The rest, however, held fast, and, to the evident astonishment of the white community, the Negroes struck back. "Selective buying"—a form of boycott directed at the firms of key individuals in the Citizens' Council—began, and in a few weeks reached a remarkable 75 percent effectiveness. Students at one of the Negro colleges put on a three-day demonstration against the local bread company by refusing to eat its product. At the other college an almost total boycott against the Coca Cola machine—the mayor of Orangeburg is the Coca Cola distributor—brought a typically free-enterprise denouement: Pepsi Cola moved in.

One of the city's two moving-picture theatres fell victim to the boycott and its balcony was virtually emptied. The other theatre, while maintaining segregation, stayed clear of the Council and remained full to capacity.

Into this situation the FOR na-

REESTABLISH COMMUNICATION

AN ALMOST TOTAL lack of communication between whites and Negroes in Orangeburg was noted by national field secretary Glenn Smiley in his November trip to that city. In an effort to reestablish such communication, the FOR sponsored a conference of representatives of both races, from Orangeburg and the surrounding area, at near-by Columbia on December 10.

Although the meeting was hastily summoned, thirty-two persons attended, which was well above expectations. Nothing very dramatic occurred, but people talked together, exploring possibilities, and laid plans for a definite project of reconciliation in the beleaguered community.

Some other excerpts from Smiley's report of his November visit follow:

One immediately thinks in terms of what contribution the Church might make in the situation, and finds that the NAACP-side of the struggle is actively led by the minister of the local Negro Methodist Church, and other Negro ministers have participated to varying degrees. A local Catholic priest is looked upon as being sympathetic to integration, but white Protestant ministers are caught in the midst of the struggle, with some remaining silent, and yet others making feeble efforts to justify segregation by the Scriptures, as in the case of the pastor of one of the largest churches in town.

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To Southern white people, possessed by what must be called a deep sense of

tional staff decided to send a representative to make a brief exploration, to see whether there was anything the FOR and its members might do to help. Glenn Smiley, national field secretary and a southerner, visited Orangeburg early in November. Paragraphs from his report appear on these pages.

Most critical aspect of the immediate situation, reported Glenn, was that communication between the Negro and white communities on the matter uppermost in the minds of both had almost entirely ceased. Before anything constructive could happen, this communication must be reestablished between representatives of the two groups. After that . . .

Well, after that the problem of Orangeburg is the problem of the whole South, and of the nation. More organizations than the Fellowship, and bigger, will be working at it, and it will not be finally resolved for years to come. But before it can be resolved at all, as Glenn Smiley observed, both groups are going to have to see each other as persons, and not just as "they." Before it can finally be resolved, the white South will have to face up to its deep sense of guilt, and its need to repent of the wrongs it has inflicted on millions of its fellows. (The white North

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guilt, there is the feeling that "no one understands us and our problem." Accustomed to generations of segregation and discrimination, the South is hurt by "outside interference" and by the "impertinence of the new Negro leadership." Under recent pressure there have been drastic changes in South Carolina schools and recreational facilities for Negroes, and the white community feels the Negro is "ungrateful" and excessively demanding. But, from the Negro point of view, not only is the law now on his side, but there is the background of separate and unequal treatment, extending almost intact into the present. One has only to look at the two swimming pools in Orangeburg to understand the resentment, for whereas the white pool is in the midst of a beautiful azalea park, the colored pool is bounded on one side by a hideous garbage dump, with its attendant odors and filth.

~

Be it Orangeburg or Stalingrad, if a citizen knows his teeth will be kicked out if he petitions, or that he may be sent to a concentration camp, or will lose his job, then human rights have come to mean nothing. It is hard to believe that the majority of the citizens of Orangeburg really want to deny another person the right to petition.

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What can we do? Some things seem important enough to reemphasize:

1. Negroes must continue to press for their rights, moral and legal.

2. The white South must repent, and must recognize men for what they are—men and no more.

3. There must be across-the-table conversations between colored and white citizens over their common problems, and without threats of violence or reprisals.

4. Both sides must refuse violence, for violence is a trap constantly before us. And in all the above, since the white community has sinned more, although not alone, we pray that the colored people will understand and love us enough to keep pressing, and also to forgive.

too, where the problems of integration are so much simpler and yet are far from solved.)

Here, perhaps, the Fellowship can make a contribution. A "preaching mission" through the South, if it could be arranged, was approved by the National Council, to appeal to the Christian consciences of the thousands of Southerners who are themselves deeply disturbed and conscience-stricken by the means by which their "way of life" is maintained.

The Orangeburg story has only been begun. As it unfolds it will be the story of a section and of a nation, and of a people wrestling with the question of whether principle or prejudice will determine its destiny. In such a critical period, pacifists will find interesting opportunities to make contributions, and to take stands.

"No Fight Between the Races"

(The temper of Orangeburg's white population may be judged from the following excerpts from an editorial in that town's **Times and Democrat,** October 13, 1955.)

The misguided attempt of left-wingers, and some church leaders, who have become more political than religious leaders, to force integration in the schools in this area does not mean race relations must be strained between the great majority of members of the two major races in this area.

On the contrary, the great majority of citizens in this area are level-headed and are not inclined to engage in the folly of racial hatred and wholesale bitterness. There is no place in this community for bitterness and hatred of a race, as such, and the dispute in this area is between a radical group seeking to set itself up as the forceful mover in establishing a new set of folkways and mores, and the great majority in this community who know that such moves are not only unwise but impossible of fulfillment. . . .

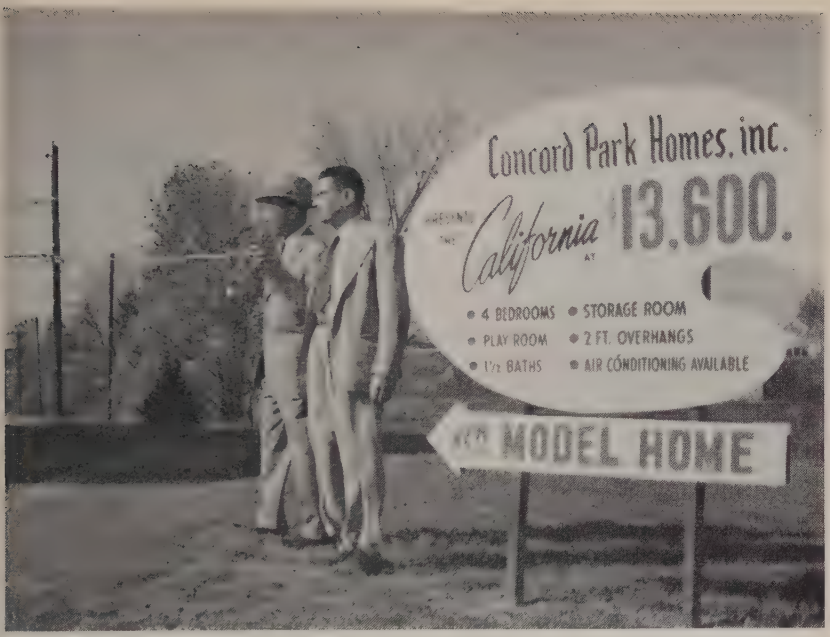
If Negro citizens expect members of the white race to refrain from radical organizations, and organizations dedicated to violence, they should themselves stay out of a radical behavior pattern, such as that advocated by the NAACP, and its foreign leadership. . . .

We appeal to the Negroes of this community not to confuse the NAACP with any church or religion, or church leader. The two are completely different things. The NAACP is a high-pressure private organization, collecting much money in dues, paying nice salaries to many people, with top officers far from here, with little in common with local Negroes, and far-removed from the situation and the friendship between the races in this area. . . .

Likewise, we ask local citizens to make it a point to patronize firms and businesses which are being attacked by the NAACP. There are a number of these firms in Orangeburg and they are on the firing line, so to speak.

They cannot afford to antagonize the great mass of citizens, including their white customers, and have refused to do business with the NAACP agitators.

These firms are happy to make this sacrifice in the interest of separation of the races in the customary pattern in the South, but they should not be called upon to make any sacrifice. Citizens of the majority race should see to it that they are given extra business, and extra consideration, if they are under attack by the NAACP.



Morris Milgram (right) explains the design of Concord Park to a visitor. Three and four-bedroom houses sell for $12,000 and $13,600, with no down payment.

THEY BUILD BROTHERHOOD

by Alfred Hassler

DISCRIMINATION against minorities is being beaten back at one place after another in this land of the free. In the North the segregated school is a rarity; transportation is freely available to anyone with the fare; public facilities have been forced open in one city after another; employment prejudices are yielding all along the line; even the church is gradually lowering the barriers it has so long maintained against some of its brothers in Christ. In the South, the still-strong primitive superstitions of white supremacy fight with their

backs to the wall in schools, parks, golf courses, trains and buses.

Only at one point does the curtain of contempt still show hardly a rent as it segregates man from man in the most intimate aspect of his life: his home. Jim Crow still rules very nearly supreme in housing. Huge apartment buildings enjoying a "tax subsidy" go to court to defend their right to exclude some of the taxpayers at whose expense they are constructed. A large "cooperative - minded" insurance company decides "reluctantly" that the best interests of its policyholders require that it refuse to sell homes to Negroes in a new residential development. Even "idealistic" cooperative communities have lost members or even gone out of business when their lily-white purity appeared to be threatened. And from coast to coast, north and south, private builders almost without exception keep their new developments for "whites only."

Because this is the case, the exceptions take on an importance out of proportion to their size. Only as members of different racial groups actually live side by side in normal, middle-class housing can the old shibboleths be tested. Members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation can take satisfaction from the fact that some of their fellow members have played leading roles in the more significant ventures to date.

Of these the development of Concord Park Homes may be the most important, partly because it is almost next door to mammoth,

Greenbelt Knoll, new Milgram-Otto development, will concentrate on larger homes, modern design on site of the farm of William Penn's surveyor, Thomas Holme. Most modern feature will continue to be absence of race discrimination.

Project in Manhattan

BODEN

Shirley Boden (see cover) is national treasurer of the FOR. He is also executive vice president of Morningside Gardens, the middle-income cooperative apartments that share with the low-rental city-subsidized General Grant Houses a huge new redevelopment project in upper Manhattan.

Morningside Gardens will spread over ten acres formerly occupied by tenements and deteriorating old rooming houses. Its six 21-story buildings, providing 984 apartments, will take up only 20 percent of the area, with the balance being give over to playgrounds, lawns, sitting areas, and parking space. The cooperative, sponsored jointly by Riverside Church, Columbia University, and seven other local institutions, will be open to all racial and ethnic groups, a point insisted on both by the sponsors and by the federal and city legislation that made it possible. "Father" of the entire redevelopment project was one of FOR's best-known members, the Rev. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, minister-emeritus of Riverside Church.

Shirley Boden, who lives with his wife and two daughters, 7 and 12, in Pleasantville, has been in cooperative work of one kind or another ever since the war. He did two years' CPS service at the Brethren camp at Kane, Pa., and the near-by state hospital at Warren. From CPS he went to Eastern Cooperatives, Inc., and from there to direct the Council for Cooperative Development. In the latter job he worked with the sponsors of Morningside in planning so effectively that he wound up as executive vice president.

white-only Levittown; partly because it is being done by a private builder without tax assistance or other public aid.

William J. Levitt, who has built close to 50,000 private homes since World War II in Jim Crow communities on Long Island and in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, disclaims any personal feelings of discrimination. It is only business, he says; when white home-buyers are ready to accept open-occupancy housing, he is ready to build it.

There are those who assert that the inability of a Negro family to buy a home in Levittown has direct and unpleasant effects on American prestige and influence in Asia and Africa. There are others who, agreeing with this, would add that regardless of its effects anywhere else, such a policy is morally and ethically wrong, and debases the

Looking like nothing more than any placid new development, Concord Park actually represents part of the surging revolt against the barriers of racial discrimination.

people who practice it and the society that permits it. One of this latter group is Morris Milgram, sponsor and builder of Concord Park Homes, and an FOR member.

The concern for color-blind communities is not new with Morris. Nine years ago, when he left the national secretaryship of the Workers Defense League to join his father-in-law's construction firm, it was with the condition that the homes he built would be sold without regard to the skin color of the purchaser. Concord Park Homes and its sequel, Greenbelt Knoll, are the concrete expression of that commitment.

Working it out took Milgram four long years of preparation and a lot of discouragement. Lending institutions either turned him down flat or reneged on tentative promises when the full implications of interracial housing struck them. Well-to-do liberals, including some pacifists, confessed to qualms about risking their hard-earned cash in so risky a venture, and in some cases even expressed doubts about its basic wisdom.

"It really took it out of me for a while," admitted Milgram, "when some prominent pacifists and Quakers 'wondered' whether the Negroes weren't happier living by themselves."

It didn't "take it out of him" long. After a while things began to look up. George Otto, an established Quaker builder and co-chairman of the Friends Social Order Committee, accepted the presidency of Concord Park Homes, Inc., with Milgram as executive vice president. Some 65 stockholders, more than half Quakers, subscribed $150,000. A 50-acre plot at Trevose, a mile north of Philadelphia's city limits, was obtained and construction began on the first of 140 homes. By the end of 1955, 55 of the 140 were up and occupied, with construction under way on 48 more.

Getting the money did not end the problem, of course. There was the question of a quota on racial representation, an unpleasant form of discrimination in itself.

"We hated the idea of a quota," said Milgram sadly. "At first we refused to establish one, even though we were afraid we knew what would happen."

"What would happen" did happen. Put up 140 modestly priced, attractive homes near a large city with a big Negro population, and then consider that *these are the only such homes available for would-be Negro purchasers* while scores of new developments compete for the white purchaser.

"Within six weeks," Milgram said, "we could have sold five homes to Negroes for every one that we sold to a white, even though we were directing our heavy sales promotion to white 'liberals.' We faced the prospect of helping to perpetuate the ghetto-type, all-Negro community, when what we wanted was an integrated section."

Today there is an unwritten sales policy that keeps occupancy at ap-

The Slums of Exurbia

LAWRENCE

Readers of the recent book "The Exurbanites" might be excused for believing that Rockland County, twenty-five miles northwest of New York City, is occupied solely by hard-drinking, highly paid executives of the publishing and communications industries. The facts are somewhat different.

Rockland, until recently almost entirely rural, is populated principally by middle-class families, with a frosting of Mr. Spectorsky's $25,000-a-year glamorpusses and a large minority of low-income, badly housed families. Prejudice against Jews in housing exists spottily; against Negroes it blankets most of the county. Nyack, Rockland's principal village, was shown by a state survey to have 21 percent "substandard" housing occupied principally by Negroes; Haverstraw has Negro slum sections among the worst in the country.

Last spring a citizens' "emergency committee on housing" was launched, sparked by two chapters of the NAACP. In it, as it starts the slow struggle against entrenched greed and prejudice, are a number of FOR members. Its chairman is FOR National Chairman Charles R. Lawrence, Jr., who is also a sociologist at Brooklyn College. Charles Lawrence and his family are residents of one of Rockland's four non-discriminating housing co-operatives.

proximately a 55-45 ratio, with whites predominating.

"We don't like it," he said, "but what's the alternative?"

More than the pressure of Negro prospects is to blame, of course: the attitudes of would-be white purchasers leave much to be desired.

"Is your Golden Rule in housing lacking a few inches?" read the advertisements for Concord Park Homes in liberal magazines, and the answer too often has been yes. The bugaboo of property values comes up constantly, of course, although objective studies have cast real doubt on the authenticity of this. "Mixed" neighborhoods often *increase* property values, *U.S. News and World Report* indicated a couple of years ago. One man was afraid that he would lose status with his "conservative" boss if he lived in an interracial community. A lawyer thought he would lose face — and business — with his clients. And so on.

But there were exceptions, and enough to keep houses going up steadily. Enough, too, so that the Milgram-Otto team was able last November to complete the first model house in another new development on the other side of Philadelphia, Greenbelt Knolls.

Needless to say, it too will be "open occupancy."

Midwest Icebreaker

WILL

Even a self-contained cooperative housing group may have trouble over race.

The first time the York Center Community, just outside Chicago, tackled the question of admitting specific Negro families to the group, as contrasted with a general statement of nonprejudice, a number of members resigned. The second time there was considerable unanimity, and only one family withdrew.

Today York Center, with seventy-five homesites, is firmly established with about a quarter of its members Negro and ten percent Japanese-Americans. Hostility and opposition from the neighboring community has pretty much evaporated since the group was formed ten years ago.

FOR-member Herman Will, Jr., associate director of the Methodist Board of World Peace, has been an active organizer and an officer of York Center since its beginning, and is now its president. He writes:

"The advantage in this type of approach to open occupancy lies in the fact that it is not dependent on any government action, can be initiated by any group of individuals deeply interested in cooperation and brotherhood. . . ."

Note From Pakistan

by John Swomley

THE MOSLEM FESTIVAL of Sacrifice occurred last July while I was in Pakistan. The Id-uz-Zuha, as it is called, commemorates the sacrifice by Abraham of an animal instead of his son Ishmael. Abraham is the common ancestor of Moslems as well as Jews. The Jewish tradition refers to Isaac and the Moslem to Ishmael as the son Abraham was about to sacrifice when God suggested to Abraham a ram as an offering instead.

Historically the act of sacrificing an animal by Abraham is the point at which the savage custom of human sacrifice, actually or symbolically, was eradicated.

The Moslem, during this festival when animals actually are sacrificed all over the Moslem world, participates in a living institution designed to give Moslems everywhere an annual opportunity to realize their oneness in faith.

The Karachi newspaper *Dawn* carried this description:

"On this day prayers will be held early in the morning and will be followed by the sacrifice of goats, sheep, cows and camels.

"Sacrifice is a 'must' for all those who are left with one tola of gold or 52 tolas of silver, or the equivalent in money at the end of the year, as well as for those who can afford even if they could not save the prescribed amount."

The sacrifice really aims at dem-

John Swomley

The author of "Note from Pakistan" is national secretary of the FOR. The trip on which he made the observations recorded here was made in connection with travel to the International FOR Council meetings in Switzerland. Swomley worked his way to Athens on a Greek ship under the auspices of the Council for Student Travel, and journeyed through Southeast Asia on the basis of a grant from a non-pacifist organization.

onstrating the true Moslem's ability and willingness to kill the animalism within him and by deeds and actions rather than mere words prove himself worthy of his high position among the creations of God. *"You are the best of nations,"* says the Koran, *"because you are created for the benefit and service of humanity."*

On the plain of Arafat in Mecca, a vast gathering during the festival declare: "I am at Thy service, O God, I am at Thy service. Thou hast no associate, I am at Thy service. Thine is the praise and Thine the favor and Thine the kingdom. Thou hast no associate, I am at Thy service." Thus they declare their faith and their submission to the will of God.

In our culture, the sacrifice of animals as a religious act seems out of place because, despite our slaughter and eating of animals, we frown upon any public exhibition of injury to animals or any needless taking of life. Even in the Koran the accent is not on God's getting any benefit from the animals slain. Rather: *"There does not reach God their flesh, nor their blood, but to Him is acceptable your piety and righteousness and your being God-fearing and God-minded."*

Perhaps a new prophet or a new ethic will yet lead Moslems to renounce animal sacrifice, which seems a relic of the barbaric past. Personal sacrifice which does not entail the sacrifice of other life would fulfill even more the Moslem lesson implicit in this ancient ritual, that Moslems must be ready at all times to give their best and utmost to God in His way, which is righteousness, justice, and truth.

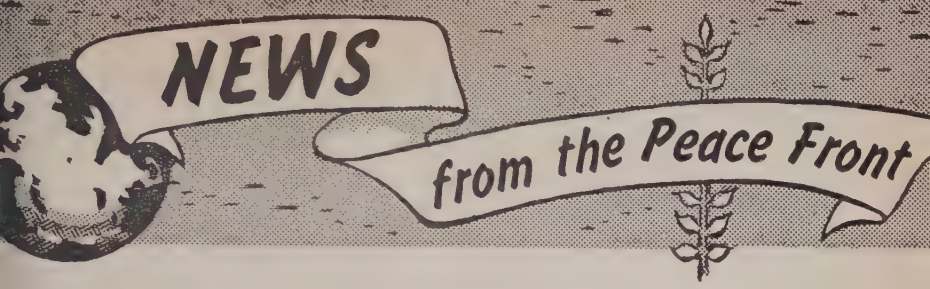
The Grain of Love

Love is alive like waving fields of wheat—
A joy to the eye, a lilt to the listening ear,
Pure wine of wonderment at nature's feat.

One loveless day I drifted on a drear
Man-fissioned landscape, lifeless, quite unmeet
For grain. Paling, I turned, for hate hung near.

Love will revive when wind breathes new in wheat.

JOHN F. DAVIDSON



Smith Act Plea Wins Praise, Knocks

A petition urging the freeing of sixteen Communists imprisoned under the Smith Act, and suspension of proceedings against more than a hundred others, was directed to President Eisenhower just before Christmas. The petition, signed by forty-six persons, was initiated in the Fellowship office by secretary-emeritus A. J. Muste. Signers included Dean John C. Bennett of Union Theological Seminary; Prof. Henry Steele Commager, of Columbia; playwright Elmer Rice, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Norman Thomas.

It asserted its signers' "fundamental disagreement with the philosophy of the Communist party" and explained that they were motivated by their "attachment to the democratic way of life."

The petition received wide attention in the press, with such newspapers as the *New York Times* and *Post* carrying extensive and accurate accounts. Other newspapers' stories and some other reactions were less objective. Among the retorts received by signers were lengthy telegrams from a Eugene R. Guild, who identified himself as an Army captain, retired, and national director of an organization called "Fighting Homefolks of Fighting Men." Mr. Guild inquired whether signers of the petition would join him in a petition to Mao Tse-tung urging the release of American military personnel imprisoned in China.

Signers of the Smith Act petition included Charles Lawrence and Herman Will, national chairman and vice-chairman of FOR; John Swomley and Alfred Hassler, of the national staff; John Nevin Sayre, IFOR treasurer; and Kent Larrabee and Paul Macy, secretaries of the New York and Midwest regions respectively.

Tatum Leaves CCCO

The resignation of Lyle Tatum as executive secretary of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors was announced "with regret" by that organization on December 19. Lyle, who had held the CCCO post since October, 1950, resigned to become superintendent of the Protestant Home for Children in Buffalo, N. Y. He is a member of the National Council and Executive Committee of the FOR.

Late in January the CCCO, with headquarters in Philadelphia, announced the appointment of George Willoughby, formerly of AFSC, to the vacant post.

The first issue of *Youth*, newsletter of the new youth section of the FOR, was mailed out in November. Second issue is expected to be sent out this month.

NC Deals with Racism, Germany, Executions

Statements and resolutions adopted by the FOR National Council at its meetings in December dealt extensively with mounting race tensions in the South, with the rearmament of Germany, and with capital punishment. In addition, the Council approved a letter to be sent to India's Premier Jawaharlal Nehru and another, on the matter of the possible extradition of a Negro minister who had fled from South Carolina, to New York's Governor Averell Harriman.

Racism and the South

The statement on race relations, inspired by the murder of 14-year-old Emmett Till in Mississippi and other acts of violence, noted "with grieved hearts" that the violence against Negroes had been so frequent in the Deep South as to "indicate a pattern of intimidation."

Disavowing a wish for an "eye for eye" justice, the statement declared nevertheless that "justice is not served . . . by returning to society as if their crimes constituted a community service, those who have been agents of death." It called on Federal agencies to give top priority to "study of all available means to give substance to the constitutional guarantees" of every American.

The Council urged President Eisenhower to speak out firmly on the issue, and even to consider going personally to Mississippi on a mission of good will. Such an act of statesmanship, the Council declared, might compensate to some extent for the worldwide resentment occasioned by the Till case. The church also was called upon to repent for unchristian acts of commission and omission in the areas of racial injustice.

In the same connection, the Council approved a letter to Governor Averell Harriman expressing its concern over the possibility of extradition to South Carolina of the Rev. Joseph DeLaine, a Negro minister from South Carolina. DeLaine, whose church was burned and whose home was the target for several raids by armed whites, fled from the state after allegedly firing back at one group of raiders.

Rearmament of Germany

Recalling that the American FOR repeatedly has protested the policy of rearming Germany, the Council issued a strong statement reiterating its opposition. The statement appealed to President Eisenhower, Secretary of State Dulles, and "others responsible" to abandon a policy that "seems bound to aggravate international tension" and may plunge the world into global war.

The Council expressed satisfaction in the fact that resistance to militarization persists in Germany even after five years of concentrated efforts by the Adenauer government, and that there is considerable growth in support for conscientious objectors both in the Evangelical and in the Roman Catholic churches.

Capital Punishment

A resolution reaffirming the Fellowship's devotion to the principle of finding "such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrongdoer rather than inflict retributive punishment," registered firm opposition to capital punishment and a hope that renewed efforts through-

out the country would lead to its abandonment. A pamphlet on the subject, including model legislation, is on the Fellowship's literature production schedule.

Letter to Nehru

A statement on the recent visit of Soviet leaders to India was communicated to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru by A. J. Muste, secretary emeritus of the FOR, on authorization of the Council.

The statement expressed concern and regret for the apparent countenancing by the Indian government of violent attacks on the United States and the West generally by Soviet leaders Khrushchev and Bulganin during their visits to that country.

[*Ed. note—Copies of the full text of any of the above statements may be obtained on request from the national office of the FOR.*]

FOR Card Sale Sets New Record

Sales of Christmas cards produced and distributed by the Fellowship of Reconciliation set a new record during the season just past. A total of slightly more than 280,000 cards was sold, as a result of the distribution of almost 150,000 samples. Previous high sales were 243,000 in 1952 and 237,000 in 1954.

Two pressings of "The Carol that Never Was Sung" on a 7-inch long-playing record sold out two weeks before Christmas, for a total of 2,000 copies. The story, narrated by Elinor Gene Hoffman on the "greeting record," was written by Alfred Hassler and appeared first as an FOR card several years ago. During the recent season it was reprinted in at least four other periodicals, read over television by movie actress Ann Blyth, and used as the first radio program presented by the Radio Workshop of the State University Teachers College at Plattsburgh, New York.

Socialists Move Nearer Pacifism

While reasserting that "we are not a pacifist party," delegates to a conference of the California division of the Socialist Party went a long way in that direction last November 26.

A resolution adopted by the conference rejected violence altogether as a means of settling international conflict and "demands" disarmament "even if it must be unilateral." Observing that the development of a "revolutionary third camp" as an alternative to the two power blocs might be unrealistic, the resolution asserted that such a policy was still "far more realistic than the policy of risking the end of the race."

"In the age of the Hydrogen Bomb," the resolution declared, "one does not have to be a religious pacifist to condemn war. . . . There are some things which men cannot do without ceasing to be human. The deliberate, wilful act of mass murder on the scale now being risked by both power blocs is that kind of thing."

Charles Walker, regional secretary, and the Middle Atlantic regional committee, were authorized by the FOR National Council to draw up plans for FOR Peace Caravans this summer.

CO's in the World's Prisons

It is late for conventional greetings of the season, but some readers of FELLOWSHIP may still wish to send New Year's greetings to their comrades who are serving prison terms for their pacifist convictions in many countries. Such messages are tremendously heartening, as ex-prison CO's know. This is the latest available list supplied by the War Resisters' International.

Belgium

Bavikhoven, André van
Prison de Forest, Bruxelles
Brichard, Daniel
Prison de Forest, Bruxelles
Delahaut, Robert
Prison de Forest, Bruxelles
Demoulin, Jacques
Prison Saint-Léonard, Liege
Driessche, Cyrille van den
Prison de Gand
Dupont, Jacques
Prison de Verviers
Duquenne, René
Prison de Forest, Bruxelles
Florijn, Célestin
Prison de Forest, Bruxelles
Garcet, Robert
Eben-Emael
Gavot, M.
Prison de Forest, Bruxelles
Heudens, René
Prison de Forest, Bruxelles
Jeune, Jacques le
40, rue Mertens et Torfs, Anvers
Masson, Pierre
8, Place Saint-Pholien, Liege
Mensbrugghe, André van der
14, Avenue de la Brabançonne, Bruxelles 4
Morel, Georges
Prison de Forest, Bruxelles
Neumann, Georges
20, rue Sterckx, Saint-Gilles
Opdebeek, Gustaav
Prison Saint-Léonard, Liege
Peeters, Egide
Prison de Forest, Bruxelles
Pirard, M.
Maison de Sante de l'Etat, Tournai
Piron, Joseph
Prison Saint-Léonard, Liege
Poelmans, Jean
Prison de Liege, rue de la Resistance, Liege
Seminckx, M.
Prison de Forest, Bruxelles
Smaggij, M.
Prison de Forest. Bruxelles
Soukiassian, Armand
Prison de Forest. Bruxelles
Thibaut, Jules
Prison Saint-Léonard, Liege
Vlaender, Désiré van
Prison de Forest, Bruxelles
Walle, Norbert de
Ferme d'Etat, Saint-Hubert

Denmark

Danish war resisters are in three camps. The addresses to which a collective greeting may be sent are as follows:

Tillidsmaendene. Militaernaegterlejren, Gribskov, Maarum
Tillidsmaendene, Militaernaegterlejren, Oksbo, Jylland
Tillidsmaendene, Militaernaegterlejren, Kompedal, Jylland

France

Barbier, Gilbert
Prison de Fresnes, (Seine)
Baussard, Raphaël
15, Bd. Oresmes, Lisieux, (Calvados)
Berre, Maurice
Prison de Fresnes, (Seine)
Capraro, Antoine
Prison de Fresnes, (Seine)
Chechelski, François
Prison de Fresnes, (Seine)
Chamarie, Louis
Fort de Montluc, Lyon, (Rhone)
Claudel, Jean
15, Bd. Oresmes, Lisieux, (Calvados)
Couly, Gaston
Prison de Fresnes, (Seine)
Dominsky, M.
31, rue du Cambout, Metz, (Moselle)
Derudder, André
Prison Chave, Marseille, (B. du Rh.)
Drozan, Richard
15, Bd. Oresmes, Lisieux, (Calvados)
Eisele, André (7 years in prison)
15, Bd. Oresmes, Lisieux, (Calvados)
Faffer, Valentin
15, Bd. Oresmes, Lisieux, (Calvados)
Fecherolle, Jean
190, rue Pessac, Bordeaux, (Gironde)
Flamein, Michel
31, rue du Cambout, Metz, (Moselle)
Kruczynski, David
31, rue du Cambout, Metz, (Moselle)
Lavignac, Jean
15, Bd. Oresmes, Lisieux, (Calvados)

(*cont'd on page* 31)

How to Help Build BROTHERHOOD

The struggle for brotherhood is waged on many fronts.

It is a legal struggle, to be fought in the courts.

It is an educational struggle, to be fought in the press and the forum, and the schools.

It is an economic struggle, to be fought in the complex marketplace of America.

More than anything else, it is a spiritual and moral struggle, to be fought in the hearts and consciences of American men and women of both majority and minority. One of the ways in which you can help in this all-important phase of the struggle for brotherhood is through the strengthening of the forces that stand unequivocally for the equality of all men before God, and for the use of nonviolent methods in the simultaneous search for equality and reconciliation.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation is the principal religious, interdenominational such group in this country. Its staff and members for years have encouraged the use of nonviolent means of resisting discrimination and building brotherhood.

Bring your friends into the FOR.

Put FELLOWSHIP into libraries and churches, and distribute FOR literature widely.

Thus you can help to build a will for brotherhood, without which brotherhood itself will not be realized.

Fellowship of Reconciliation

21 Audubon Avenue, New York 32, N. Y.

740 Rush St., Chicago 11, Ill.

1206 W. Jefferson Blvd., Los Angeles 7, Calif.

2006 Walnut St., Philadelphia 3, Pa.

905 Creston Rd., Berkeley 8, Calif.

225 W. 34th St., New York 1, N. Y.

9 Park St., Boston 8, Mass.

Jottings

Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, president of the National Council of Churches, has cited the white Citizens' Councils of the south as symptomatic of a "revival of white Protestant fascism" that presents American churches with their "sharpest ideological challenge." Dr. Blake made the charge in the keynote address of the National Council's Division of Home Missions at Buck Hill Falls, Pa., in December.

A pamphlet published by the Texas Council of Churches reveals that most official statements of the church bodies of that state favor racial integration in the public schools. The pamphlet is called "Texas Churches Speak on Integration."

Two encouraging incidents in the race field have been reported from North Carolina by Religious News Service. The Moore County Ministers Association, which was formed through the merger last year of Negro and white ministerial groups, elected as its new president the Rev. John R. Funderburke, a Negro. And in Durham, white and Negro Protestant churches have formed interracial committees to conduct simultaneous evangelistic services in the spring.

The Friends Committee on National Legislation has published a 16-page "Political Action Handbook."

Publication of a new monthly magazine with pacifist associations was announced in December. The magazine, to be titled *Liberation*, will have an orientation in the direction of what is called the "Third Camp" movement. Two FOR staff members, secretary-emeritus A. J. Muste and Middle Atlantic regional secretary Charles Walker, are on the five-man editorial board. First issue is scheduled for March.

Pacifist pickets from a half-dozen organizations paraded with their signs in front of the White House a few days before Christmas. They were asking for amnesty for conscientous objectors and other Selective Service violators from World War II and after.

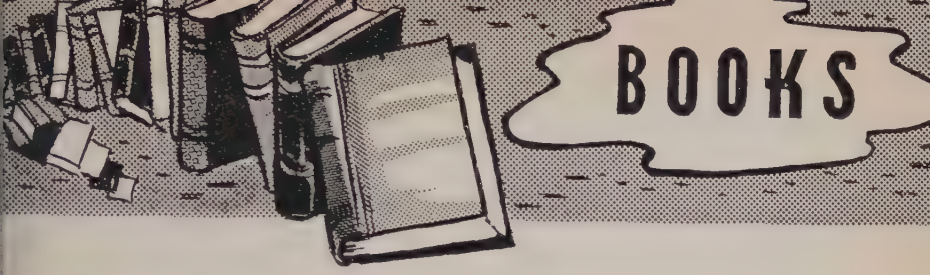
ADVERTISEMENTS

A CONSECRATED CHRISTIAN PUBLISHER wanting to expand along religious lines is needed as senior partner by a Methodist minister with progressive ideas.

Box P, FELLOWSHIP, 21 Audubon Ave., New York 32, N. Y.

HELP WANTED

Several jobs are open with the FOR, as regional secretaries, field workers, office secretaries, assistant editor. Applicants are guaranteed not to get rich, but they will get almost every other satisfaction a vocation can offer. Write Box A, FELLOWSHIP, 21 Audubon Avenue, New York 32, N. Y.



Competition—or Cooperation?

The Direction of Human Development, by M. F. Ashley Montagu. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1955. 404 pp. $5.00.

Is human nature basically good or bad? How is man's original nature conditioned to assume a socially functioning form? It is the answers to these questions, basic to the welfare and even survival of mankind, that M. F. Ashley Montagu seeks in this recent book. Drawing on a voluminous mass of research and clinical evidence from the biological and social sciences, Montagu comes to the conclusion that human nature is good but our present human nurture is bad.

Concerning the inborn nature of man, Dr. Montagu points out that the western world has inherited a trifold tradition:

1. The origins of religion, as transmitted through the Old Testament, indicating that "man is born a rather wild, disorganized, evil, sinful creature."

2. Secular tradition of the past millenium, confirming the religious tradition in every way.

3. Scientific teachings of the 19th Century, concerning the nature of nature and the nature of human nature, as influenced by Darwinian theory and subsequently by Freudian theory, largely confirming the religious and secular tradition.

However, from the evidence of the research concerning the amoeba, the animals forms, and the primates, including "primitive," prehistoric, and "civilized" man, Dr. Montagu arives at the following conclusion. "Prehistoric man was, on the whole, a more peaceful, cooperative, unwarlike, unaggressive creature than we are." . . . "From all of this material, it seems now clear that the main principle by which human beings must guide the future course of their development is love."

The author approaches the problem of how we are going to attain the ideal of love more completely by pointing out that our education is wrong from beginning to end. He asserts that mothers and infants are separated at birth to the detriment of both, and that parents bring up their children badly, and that in our schools we teach subjects and not human beings.

It is clear to most of us that the human race today faces the possibility of its own destruction through the inability to live peacefully with one another. This book emphasizes the importance of home and family life and its extensions into other institutions, such as schools and churches, in holding the key to the solution to the dilemma which humanity faces. This key is to be found in the art and practice of love and cooperation.

—John Crist

On American Policy

Common Sense and World Affairs, by Dorothy Fosdick. Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1955. 207 pp. $3.50.

Unlike her father, Dorothy Fosdick is no pacifist. She served for more than four years on the Policy Planning Staff of the State Department and is, therefore, a supporter of this country's military and foreign policy.

To a real degree this book is a rationale for our present foreign policy, which is one of a "strong and militarily prepared America, buttressed by a system of free-world alliances. . . ." But it is also a book containing certain principles as chapter headings which Miss Fosdick thinks we should keep in mind in planning foreign policy. For example, two of her principles are "Sometimes to let things alone is sound sense," and "To believe you are more generous than you really are is hazardous." The latter contains a critique of the idea that we have given aid because of our generosity whereas it has really been out of self-interest.

The book contains an occasional nugget of value for the sophisticated reader and is, I suspect, intended chiefly for those who, while interested in foreign policy, have had little time or inclination to follow it closely. Among the insights she offers is the suggestion that we should examine the notion that "Communism is simply the result of poverty so that to raise standards of living reduces vulnerability to communism. Some well-known Americans verge on Marxism in their over-confidence in economic reforms. Recent field studies indicate that communism flourishes most among those groups which have been estranged from their traditional way of life and have not yet found their place in another meaningful pattern of existence—notably the new middle classes and the intellectuals."

On disarmament she writes that the Soviet Union has not been sincere. "But some of us are not sincere about it either, in spite of all our fine words and resounding declarations. Many persons in official and important quarters, far from wanting to search for any system for the international control and reduction of armaments and armed forces, which would safeguard the security of every nation, are scared to death of the idea. They are actually afraid the Soviet Union might sometime get 'sincere' and hope against hope she won't. They have let our vested interest in a vast armed services establishment frighten them off, and they cannot face frankly even the prospect of a readjustment in a national armaments policy to which they have become habituated."

As for a disarmament program, she adds that the problem is not just Soviet and American insincerity, but "we ourselves have not yet thought of a satisfactory system" for international control and reduction of arms.

—John Swomley

War and Imperialism

Our Day of Empire, by Louis Obed Renne. Strickland Press, Glasgow, 1954. 224 pp. $2.00.

Written in the form of letters to "Cousin Ethel," this book is the author's account of the evils of war, imperialism, and racism. Although there are some historical comments,

the book is much more a personal philosophy of events, which includes wartime references to Japanese-American camps and treatment of conscientious objectors, and such postwar items as the dismissal of Cecil Hinshaw from his post as president of William Penn College.

The author, a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, draws repeatedly upon the Bible to indicate how far America is from being a Christian nation. This is a book of personal convictions about the individuals and nations who make up our warring world. It also portrays the author's fears that the downfall of American democracy is not far away.

—JOHN SWOMLEY

Partly a Tribute

Careers in Religious Journalism, by Roland E. Wolseley. Association Press, 1955. 116 p. $2.50.

The distractions of the printed page in our time being what they are, it is not always certain to this reviewer that the invention of the printing press was as much of a boon to true religion as it is generally thought to have been.

Since such misgivings have no effect whatever on the number of otherwise inoffensive trees converted daily into printed matter of various degrees of worth, the next best thing is to see that the church's presses are in the hands of the most skillful, as well as the most devoted, people available. It should be a matter of satisfaction that two members of the FOR have been well out in the forefront of those who have helped religious journalism to move in this direction.

One of these is Alfred Moore, who retired last year as executive secretary of the Committee on World Literacy and Christian Literature, the group that has sponsored and supported Frank Laubach. When I first put my own toes gingerly into the unknown seas of religious publishing, Alfred Moore was editor of *Classmate*, Methodist "story-paper" for youth. From that vantage point he was the prime mover in encouraging denominational boards to fill their editorial posts with religiously motivated journalists rather than considering the jobs as rewards for deserving clergymen or tired seminary professors. He was the architect also of the interdenominational publishing "syndicate" that made it possible to pool the miniscule editorial budgets into a fund that was large enough to purchase the work of writers with a pride in their craft, and so to begin to fill the pages of these magazines with something more nearly resembling literature than the earnest but inept little tracts that too often had characterized them before. In both areas his influence continues to be felt.

The other FOR member who has had a profound influence on religious journalism's progress is Roland Wolseley, professor of journalism and chairman of the magazine department at Syracuse University and, like Dr. Moore, a member of the FOR's Literature Committee.

Professor Wolseley, like Alfred Moore also, has had a deep concern for the development of professional standards in the area of journalism as practiced in the name of religion. He was first director of the graduate religious journalism program at Syracuse, and still retains supervisory control over that program.

With Harold Ehrensperger, another FOR member-editor, he organized India's first school of journalism in 1952-3 under the Fulbright plan.

In this little book, Prof. Wolseley has done a journalist's concise survey of the whole field of religious journalism and the openings available in it. For anyone interested in the field, it is an invaluable book, and for the sake of the future publications and publicity of the church, it is to be hoped that many are interested.

—Alfred Hassler

The "Simple" Life

The American Intentional Communities, a Study on the Sociology of Cooperation, by Henrik F. Infield. Community Press, Glen Gardner, N. J., 1955. 188 pp. $2 paper, $3 cloth.

Toward Simple Living, by Robert F. Stowell. Green Leaf Press, Cabot, Vt., 1955. 29 pp. 40c.

The multiplying difficulties of reclaiming a simple life from a technological culture have long disturbed the consciences of those to whom the values of the individual personality seem more important than the material gewgaws heaped higher and higher by modern society. Since well before Henry Thoreau meditated beside Walden Pond, such restless souls have sought some kind of answer from a closer relationship to "natural" living in experiments as individuals or family groups, or as communities. The two publications reviewed here provide interesting insights into the adventures and ideas of modern protagonists of "simple" living.

Sociologist Infield has done a study of three communities that will be fascinating reading to anyone at all interested in the subject. Using approved sociometric techniques with the full cooperation of the communities involved, Infield attempted to measure the essential strength and unity of each of the groups, and the success with which it had achieved the kind of integration its members sought.

At Campanella (fictitious name for a real rural cooperative) the tests disclosed to the members of the community that their greatest area of uncertainty and tension lay at precisely the point that they regarded as central to their purpose: the "religious" nature of the group.

Macedonia, one of the best-known of contemporary intentional communities, revealed a remarkable strength that was to be unexpectedly tested by a Job-like succession of major disasters. And Gould Farm, at first appearing to show up badly in the tests, demonstrated a healing power whose source may have lessons to teach to pacifists.

"The living faith of Gould Farm," writes the author, "is based on what might be called an 'operational' interpretation of the Christian teachings. . . . Unlike plain and simple kindness and its concomitants, patience and consideration, love is a too ambiguous and too dangerously ambivalent, a too complex and potentially explosive an emotion to serve as a dependable binding force for a community. . . . Even at its best love cannot be forced, while kindliness can be willed. Where as at Gould Farm, it reigns supreme, it removes the extremes and creates a social atmosphere conducive to making

the old active, the ailing well, and the healthy better."

Robert Stowell's slim volume is a different kind of approach: not so much the record of an experiment in simple living as the persuasively stated rationale for it. Stowell, who with his wife Ann is attempting to live what he preaches in Vermont, has written and printed an essay that is a pleasure to read on both counts. Modestly presented and with a far less doctrinaire approach than frequently characterizes such arguments, his case against many of the aspects of contemporary society is a troubling one. It is no deprecation of this aspect of the essay to add that his "solution" appears still to remain one open only to the isolated family or group, unadaptable to society as a whole.

—A. H.

The French and UMT

The French Theory of the Nation At Arms, by Richard Challener. Columbia University Press, New York, 1955. 277 pp. $4.50.

The French have ever since Napoleon been troubled in their national life by the problem of conscription and mobilization for war. The "Army has played a vital role in French domestic affairs ever since 1789." In one way or another the army, militia and veterans were largely responsible for revolutionary movements such as the storming of the Bastille and the Commune of 1871. This military role made the army, conscription and war planning a matter of controversy between leftist and rightist groups throughout much of modern French history.

The concept of "'the nation in arms' implies perhaps nothing more than the principle of universal and compulsory military service. Yet even this definition carries with it the important corollary that one of the primary moral obligations of the French citizen is to fulfill his conscript duties."

The theory of "the nation in arms" is that "the influence of a nation depends upon the number of men she can put under arms." Thus all Frenchmen were to be subject to some form of military service in the active forces, the reserves or *garde mobile*.

For a time the lottery device was used to choose men for a six month to one year term while others served a full five years in the military.

Those favoring a republic instead of an empire wanted more emphasis placed on the role of the reserves "and the army was frequently considered not simply as a fighting force but as a school in which French youth acquired basic principles of citizenship."

Challener reports that in the period between 1872 and 1914 "a conscript could indeed obtain his basic military training within a short period of time; . . . but he was still not a soldier. The recruit, on the contrary, did not become a soldier until the time when his own personal interests meant nothing to him and he felt that his own personality was dominated by the 'spirit of the collective being.' Military education was the all-important process which produced this change in the mental and spiritual outlook of the conscript."

Since the first world war the concept of the nation in arms has also "implied the mobilization of industrial and economic resources

as well as the mobilization of armies." But the principle of universal military conscription conflicted with the new industrial and economic needs.

"The military leaders demanded more and more soldiers for their armies and consequently, left less and less men available for industry and agriculture." They "rarely considered that a man might be more valuable to the nation if he remained at his civilian job instead" of being called into the army.

After 1914, instead of taking advantage of the large measure of German disarmament to encourage disarmament throughout Europe, the French reduced their term of conscription to one year. Premilitary training was encouraged by the government through the more rapid advancement of soldiers "who could present certificates of military aptitude at the time of their induction."

The nation-in-arms idea was largely responsible in 1914 and in 1939 for French plans "for a particular type of warfare which never materialized and thus had a marked effect upon the military outcome."

It is interesting to note that "one of the reasons" the army "approved a declaration of war" in 1939 "was that the German involvement in Poland would provide [them] with the opportunity to mobilize . . . without interference from the enemy."

This was an example of "the heavy price which the French paid for adopting a military organization in which the role of the reserves was so crucial."

This book is a well-documented history which the student of conscription and war will find helpful but which is not meant for the average reader. It sheds a beam of light upon American militarism since our military leaders are commending many of the policies proposed by the French military. The French of course learned from the Prussian example as our military authorities continue to do.

—John Swomley

Should We Have Universal Military Training? 16 mm, b & w sound, 12 min. Forum No. 18. American Film Forum, Inc., 516 Fifth Avenue, New York 36. Rental: $6.

A dated film discussion between then-Senator Edwin C. Johnson (now Governor of Colorado) and Edgar G. Shelton, chairman of the National Security Commission. Neither man does a very effective job either of opening up the basic issues or of presenting a persuasive case for his side. Johnson's anti-UMT arguments will not appeal to pacifists: "We can depend for defense on A- and H-bombs," he comments, "and if we can't let's create more weapons."

FILMS FOR PEACE

Two *good* films for FOR or church groups: *Not by Might,* with A. J. Muste (rental $5) and *Blessed Are the Peacemakers,* with Martin Niemoeller ($7.50). Reserve them today!

COs in Prison

(cont'd from page 22)

Meiffre, Jean
15, Bd. Oresmes, Lisieux, (Calvados)
Mislikowski, Jean
Prison d'Écrouves près Toul, (M. et M.)
Mochberger, Henri
15, Bd. Oresmes, Lisieux, (Calvados)
Mourisse, André
31, rue du Cambout, Metz, (Moselle)
Nisselbeck, Othon
Prison de Fresnes, (Seine)
Pawlik, Henri
15, Bd. Oresmes, Lisieux, (Calvados)
Peiprzyk, Jean
31, rue du Cambout, Metz, (Moselle)
Piotrowiez, M.
Prison de Fresnes, (Seine)
Planche, Guy
31, rue du Cambout, Metz, (Moselle)
Popeye, Joseph
15, Bd. Oresmes, Lisieux, (Calvados)
Porte, M.
Prison de Fresnes, (Seine)
Proville, M.
Prison de Fresnes, (Seine)
Prudel, Joseph
31, rue du Cambout, Metz, (Moselle)
Rezer, Jean-Claude
Prison de Fresnes, (Seine)
Roszyk, Jean
Prison de Fresnes, (Seine)
Schaguene, Edmond
(7 years in prison)
31, rue du Cambout, Metz, (Moselle)
Schmitt, Louis
15, Bd. Oresmes, Lisieux, (Calvados)
Sersa, Jean
31, rue du Cambout, Metz, (Moselle)
Tchourbassof, M.
Prison Militaire de Tunis, Tunisia
Thierry, Robert
31, rue du Cambout, Metz, (Moselle)
Tornani, Antoine
15, Bd. Oresmes, Lisieux, (Calvados)
Tourne, Pierre
31, rue du Cambout, Metz, (Moselle)
Trouillet, Marcel
Fort de Montluc, Lyon, (Rhone)
Verschaeve, Joseph
15, Bd. Oresmes, Lisieux, (Calvados)
Wawro, César
Prison de Fresnes, (Seine)
Zielinski, Alfred
Prison de Fresnes, (Seine)

Great Britain

Bolton, Raymond
H. M. Prison, Eastchurch, Kent
Broughton, Albert J.
H. M. Prison, Lewes, Sussex
Chapman, Eugene
H. M. Prison, Lewes, Sussex
King, Peter
H. M. Prison, Lewes, Sussex

Holland

Names of prisoners not available at present. Other Dutch war resisters may be reached by collective greetings as follows:
de Jong, Jan
Kamp Emmeloord Oost, Nord-Oost polder
Stelling, Kees
Rijks psychiatrische inrichtingen, Woensel
Veth, Piet
dienstweigeraarskamp, Vledder
Vonk, Sino
Nieuwe Bogertstraat B. 220, Zierikzee

Norway

None known to be in prison. Other Norwegian war resisters are in three camps. Addresses to which a collective greeting may be sent are as follows:
Civilarbeiderne
Havnäs leir, Mysen
Civilarbeiderne
Hustad leir, Julshamn
Civilarbeiderne
Dillingoy tvangsarbeidsleir, Moss

Sweden

None known to be in prison. Swedish war resisters are in Civilian Work Establishments, and collective greetings can be sent as follows:
Vapenfria Värnpliktiga
Åsbro
Vapenfria Värnpliktiga
Sunnanas, Gövlel
Vapenfria Värnpliktiga
Universitetets skogsförvaltning, Uppsala
Vapenfria Värnpliktiga
Revingehed
Vapenfria Varnpliktiga
Garnisonsbrandkåren, Boden 19
Vapenfria Värnpliktiga
Björkö, Adelsö

United States

This list is from the *News Notes* of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors.
Bell, Theodore
Federal Correctional Institution, Texarkana, Texas
Bendik, John
location unknown
Bontrager, Abraham
Federal Prison Camp, Mill Point, W. Va.

Bryan, Clarence
Federal Medical Center, Springfield, Mo.
Campbell, Clifton
Federal Prison Camp, Mill Point, W. Va.
Doty, Joel
F. C. I., Texarkana, Texas
Doty, Orin
F. C. I., Texarkana, Texas
Doty, Paul
F. C. I., Texarkana, Texas
Doty, Sid
F. C. I., Texarkana, Texas
Forbes, John
Federal Medical Center, Springfield, Mo.
Francy, James
Federal Prison Camp, Tucson, Ariz.
Hundley, Edgar Lee
F. C. I., Texarkana, Texas
Lehman, Levi
Federal Prison Camp, Mill Point, W. Va.
Mast, Amos
Federal Prison Camp, Mill Point, W. Va.
Passmore, Bill
F. C. I., Seagoville, Texas
Patrick, Roosevelt
F. C. I., Texarkana, Texas
Pennington, Isaac
F. C. I., Texarkana, Texas
Tamblyn, Thomas
F. C. I., Tallahassee, Fla.
Yoder, Elmer
Federal Prison Camp, Mill Point, W. Va.
Yoder, Enos
Federal Prison Camp, Mill Point, W. Va.

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FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Paul G. Macy, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 905 Creston Road, Berkeley 8, Calif.; *Southwest:* Wilson Riles, 1205 W. Jefferson Blvd., Los Angeles 7, Calif.; *New York:* Kent Larrabee, 225 West 34th Street, N. Y. 1, N. Y.; *Middle Atlantic:* Charles Walker, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.; *New England:* Robert Gussner, 9 Park Street, Boston 8, Mass. 8, Mass.

Do You Send a LOT of Christmas Cards?

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250	$18.75	$12.50*
500	$35.00	$20.00*
1000	$65.00	$35.00*

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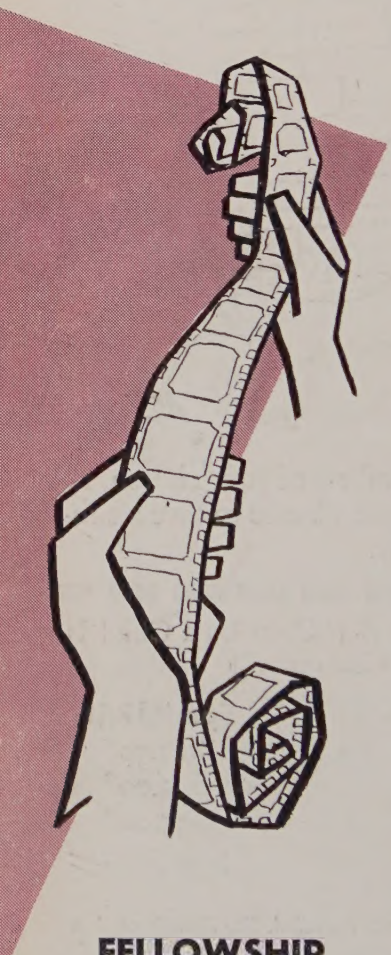

FELLOWSHIP FILMS

A NEW FILM

Martin Niemoeller in "Blessed are the Peacemakers"

—a man's story of his conversion to pacifism as only he could explain it is a fitting beginning for the 1956 FOR film year. Here, for the first time, is a film based on the thoughts of a legendary figure who climbed from the depths of commanding a German U-boat to become a champion in the cause of nonviolence. 17 minutes, 16mm black and white, sound—cosponsored by the FOR and the Paine Foundation. Purchase price—$75. Rental $7.50.

AND TWO "classics"

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—the unforgettable visit of a teacher to her home in Hiroshima which has been playing to enthusiastic audiences throughout the country.

Black and white, 93 minutes, 16mm Rental—$25 a showing.